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which are bound to lead to further wars and perhaps to the downfall of our civilization?

G. SPILLER,
*Secretary of the International
Union of Ethical Societies.*

Fundamental Cause of War.

By Dr. J. Ingram Bryan.*

"There's na't so queer as folk." In this homely saying, so well known among all English-speaking peoples, lies the cause of every quarrel and bloody fray that has stained the history of man. There is no doubt that the brain of man, great and brilliant as have been its attainments and achievements, is still comparatively undeveloped and imperfect—as yet in its infancy, in fact—hence the imperfection of human relationships. Carlyle was something more than cynical when he declared that England was composed of forty millions of people, mostly fools. A similar sentiment and proportion applies still to all mankind with a few individual exceptions.

Although the human mind has shown a marvelous advancement on the ancient days of horror—infanticide, fratricide, savage orgies, clan wars, and civil strife—it is apparently not yet beyond the settlement of disputes by wholesale slaughter of men. The premium placed upon unintelligence is in some respects as popular as ever. And how could it well be otherwise? The innocent infant mind is brought up on gollywogs and all sorts of hideous animal and human absurdities, which naturally retard the intelligence of adolescence. The nature of our amusements, sports, and recreations generally has in modern times largely partaken of the inanity of the Sunday illustrated supplement, and the natural result is the tango, dare-devil feats of rock-climbing and air-tricks, while our highest ideal of martyrdom is to be frozen to death in the useless attempt to find what is at the poles. The greatest literary triumph of recent years has been Peter Pan; and, in poetry, an elaborate rime of a delirious sailor. People today have arrived at so unique a state of mental proficiency that they will spend millions to send men to the new immortality of the Arctic regions and then turn to collecting other millions the world over to keep from starvation the families of the countless men killed in a war not of their own causing. Nations hesitate not to kill their subjects by the million, and subjects themselves fear not to slay themselves and others in equally appalling numbers by vice, intemperance, disease, and innumerable other forms of folly. Surely no further evidence is needed to prove that the folly of war is the folly of despising intelligence.

But in addition to the abundant evidence of unintelligence at our disposal, we have the further evidence of personal experience. Who is there among us that does not know the daily difficulty of trying to get on with people and keep on good terms with one's neighbor? How often our experience is that all we can say of others is that they are queer. How many there are

everywhere who have had the experience of being introduced to persons who never afterwards recognized them? In this alone there is seed sufficient for any war. Indeed, what an alarming proportion of so-called friendship is *interested*! And how readily the most inveterate enemy is turned into a friend for interested reasons—and with public approval! The question of love and honesty does not appear to enter into the matter of many a human relationship. What is more, the public dislikes frankness and candor, and puts a premium on deceit. Do not these facts show beyond a doubt that the human mind has not yet reached that state where war is impossible?

And it is just here that the peacemakers fall into a great mistake. Those engaged in that laudable campaign almost invariably appeal to reason—a wholly useless procedure, seeing that war is never based on reason. The appeal to reason has no effect on persons responsible for war. Just as little use is it to appeal to sentiment and humanity, for cruelty and inanity usually go together. And the danger is increased beyond measure when international disputes are left in the hands of a few.

Though what has been said may appear to take a pessimistic view of the situation, it is not intended to be so; for, think of the changes for the better that had taken place during the last hundred years! These have been nothing short of marvelous. A century ago the spirit of hate reigned between most of the nations of Europe, and even between the English-speaking peoples themselves. Today people have at least given up fighting among themselves, though the examples of Ulster and Mexico leave the hope somewhat uncertain; but, on the whole, it can be said with truth that the cause of peace has made remarkable progress. Not least among the evidences of this is the decline of bigotry and persecution in religion. There is not the least doubt that the whole human race has advanced in this respect, and that this advance has been due largely to a more enlightened moral and spiritual education. *It is to education, therefore, that the world must look for the elimination of war.* It has been by education that we have done away with civil strife, obliging all disputants to come to terms before the courts; and by education, too, the nations will be brought to bring their international disputes before an international tribunal. But this means that more emphasis will have to be laid on the education of moral reason. We should begin with the children, and emphasize the training of social reason up to manhood and womanhood. Above all, we should cultivate the habit of welcoming reproof of nonsense. Nonsense may be amusing, but it ceases to be a diversion when, in the seats of the mighty, it plunges multitudes into bloody ruin!

TOKYO, JAPAN, January, 1915.

A Word of Cheer.

Some Thoughts on the Present Crisis.

By H. S. Perris, M. A.*

This winter has been a sad one for the workers for human progress. It is bitter to be laid low by a devastating illness at a time when so much good work was

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afoot, when such high hopes filled one's heart. How much bitterer when the pestilence, sweeping like a prairie fire over half the world, smites great nations with its awful breath! Such is the calamity that has fallen upon the Old World—upon the old homelands of those varied millions that make up the population of the United States. The pick of the youth of Europe have been driven or have rushed to arms, and are falling in their millions, like ripe corn before the sickle. Amidst an awful hush the whole world watches with bated breath the shock of a conflict more bloody than was ever known. The combatants are putting all their resources—scientific, financial, and, above all, human—into the struggle. When it is “all over,” we know that it will take generations to recover from the ravages of this deadly war. There is, indeed, in the spectacle of Europe today much to discourage and dishearten the friend of humanity, the believer in progress; much to shame the statesmanship and churchmanship of our age.

If I try here to gather together a few thoughts of hope and cheer amidst the symptoms of the present world disorder, it will not be because I do not share the horror and indignation with which right-minded people view a preventable calamity so dire in its effects, but because we have the future to think of—indeed, to mold and create—and unless we can mobilize in these days of trial and suffering our reserves of faith and hope and courage the future, not only for ourselves but for our children and our children's children, will be dark indeed. As I write, in Old England the first breaths of spring are in the air. The birds have a new note; the clods of earth in my garden are beginning to be pierced by the first green spears of the spring flowers. I think, too, that I can discern in the signs of the times some grounds for trust and cheer and confidence.

Militarism Unmasked.

In the first place, it is matter of unfeigned satisfaction that the monstrous creation of modern militarism stands unveiled at last, stripped of its pretentious wrappings, and revealing its naked ugliness and shame. This Frankenstein is the creation of modern statecraft—of the prevalent philosophy of the governing classes and coteries of Europe—and those who have watched the gradual growth of the monstrosity are not surprised that some even of its begetters shrink in horror from their own creation. “Prussian militarism is the enemy!” cry British, French, and Russians with united voice. I join in the cry myself, because I have no doubt that Prussia reveals the hated thing in its most thoroughgoing form. But I go further than most of my friends, for I realize how many “Prussians” there are in other countries than Germany. Still we must distinguish; and though I know I could match the blood-and-thunder doctrines of Bernhardt, Treitschke, and the rest from the pages of imperialist reviews or the columns of the “yellow press” in my own land, yet these dervishes, thank God! are not yet enthroned and in power here—which makes all the difference. With the above reservations, therefore, and looking at the question broadly, I find real cause for thankfulness and encouragement in the degree to which the popular judgment has proclaimed militarism to be the enemy of the human race. For years the friends of peace have been preaching in the wilderness the simple yet profound

doctrine that “the fruit grows after its kind,” and that you can no more grow peace out of competitive armaments and rival armed alliances than grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. Now this truth is beginning to dawn upon the general intelligence, and its correlative truth, *Si vis pacem, para pacem*, is beginning to come into its kingdom. We are paying a hideous price for our failure to understand these foundation principles of international relationship and of pacification earlier. But I rejoice to believe that the lesson is now being widely learned at last. The gospel of force is, as never before, being exposed to the hatred and reprobation of mankind. We have been like *Heedless* in “Pilgrim's Progress,” and the giant *Maul* has “spoiled us with his sophistries;” but there are signs that the giant is fighting his last great fight, and that ere long we shall “pierce him under the fifth rib” and ultimately “smite his head from his shoulders.”

The Old Diplomacy Discredited.

I see a second cause for rejoicing in the general discredit into which the old type of diplomacy and international “statesmanship” is falling. On the outbreak of the present war many pronounced it to be a “diplomats' war,” and I think with some justice. The foreign offices and chancelleries of Europe had been busily spinning their webs of intrigue and rivalry for a generation past. The outcome of it all was to range Europe into two rival camps under the names of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, armed to the teeth, and to produce on an unexampled scale the material for an explosion, a collision, which with extreme difficulty was avoided up to 1913, but duly occurred in 1914. In the name of peace and under pretense of safeguarding peace, the diplomatists laid the train of the greatest and most disastrous war of history. Let us not rob them of the credit of their achievement. The outbreak was due (as I believe) to the brutal fiat of Germany; but the underlying cause was the crass diplomacy and purblind statesmanship which had accumulated with diabolic skill the materials of combustion, and had not strengthened the machinery of conciliation and pacification to the degree that it should be able to overcome the elements of danger. In short, the foreign offices have proved themselves before all the world to be more efficient as war-preparers than as peace-keepers. Hence the growing popular demand for the democratization of the diplomatic service and of parliamentary control over foreign policy. It is being realized that the chancelleries and their aristocratic agents have been the masters of our destinies, instead of being the servants of the popular will and the ministers of the popular aspirations. Their familiar dogma of keeping the peace by preparing for war is today receiving condemnation in scores of thousands of darkened homes. It is true that *The Times* still sticks to its guns and applauds the doctrine of the balance of power “for which Britain has always fought since the time of the Tudors, and will always fight”! But *The Times* does not represent the best-informed British judgment or the popular will. The majority of Englishmen, I believe, now realize that “the balance of power” is one of those plausible shibboleths which conceals a whole volume of vicious and antiquated policy and for which the twentieth century must substitute a wiser and profounder formula.

The foremost nations of the modern world will not much longer be daunted or be content to be beaten by the intricacies of the task of organizing international life and relations upon a pacific basis. Having achieved such wonders of assimilation, co-ordination, and pacification within their own national borders, they will not much longer be content to leave the domain of "foreign affairs" to the blundering prejudices and traditions of the old diplomacy. For the highest tasks we must have the best brains; and if the chancelleries refuse to admit the cleansing winds of democratic control into their dusty corridors I shall not be surprised to see a new version of the storming of the Bastille put a rough end to their autocracy. We must have an end of the old medicine-man type of foreign ministry and of that fatal contentment to "leave it all to So-and-So" which has helped to bring the present troubles upon us. It is time that the popular will created instruments adequate to find the way to peace.

Beginnings of an International Mind.

A third favorable symptom which may be discerned is the new and vivid consciousness of the need of a real body of international law, with its proper sanctions, its judicial court, and other appropriate machinery. Even those who, six months ago, scoffed at The Hague and its courts and treaties, are now beginning to realize soberly that a thorough organization of international relations has become an imperative need of European society, and that such organization must be put on a secure basis, must be armed with real powers, and its dignity and authority be adequately safeguarded. All now invoke international law—if only against the enemy! The next step will be to set to work in a co-operative spirit to create and maintain it, and to erect sure safeguards against its infraction and violation. Thus, as ever, have the visions of yesterday become the needs and imperative demands of today. Many a thinker has prayed in vain for the growth of an international mind and temper amidst the clamant particularisms of Europe before the war. The clash of circumstances, the medicine of suffering, even the promptings of partisanship, have conspired to bring this international mind and outlook into the region of "practical politics." This is no slight gain.

Official Religion on Trial.

Another effect of the war, which is likely to be for good, is the searching of heart which it has caused as to the merits and efficacy of ecclesiastical Christianity. Anything further removed from the founder's conception of human conduct and relationship and his vision of the kingdom of God could scarcely be conceived than the condition of European society today. How stand Prussian Lutheranism, Russian Orthodoxy, Austrian and French Catholicism, and British Anglicanism—indeed, "official" religion everywhere—in view of this state of things? How little their efforts availed to mitigate, not only the burdens, but the dangers, of the armed peace! They are doubtless all doing their best now to assuage the sufferings of the war, whilst at the same time canceling out each others' pious prayers by their contradictory calls upon the Deity for victory. But how much did their work and influence avail as a

safeguard against war? And is not the divinity they address in some cases little better than a thinly disguised pagan Odin? These questions are beginning to be asked, and will be more and more widely asked in every land, and I believe that a growing demand will arise for a teaching and preaching of religion having more relation to practical conduct and life and less to the threadbare discussion of creeds, formularies, ritual, and ecclesiastical order than has been customary in the past. If so, the world, and organized religion itself, will be immensely better for the change. "A purer Christianity," wrote William Ellery Channing a century ago, "however slowly, is destined to take the place of that which bears but its name." It may be that the affront to the enlightened mind and sincere conscience which the present war constitutes will be the beginning of a new effort after religious reality within and without the churches, and that the feeble particularism and still more feeble moral compromises of current ecclesiasticism will be shamed into a fresh and manly effort to "make the kingdoms of the world become kingdoms of our God and of His Christ." So may it be.

Cæsarism in its Last Ditch.

Finally, I think it not unlikely that this war may mark the end in Europe of "Cæsarism," of absolute monarchy, and the birth-throes of a real democracy among at least the Germanic peoples of the continent. The doctrine of the "benevolent despot" will not survive the slaughter of millions of the picked young manhood of Central Europe. The superman has had a good inning, but I believe he is beginning to be found out. I have never hesitated to say that if Germany had had a responsible democratic government this war would never have taken place, and I believe that when the German people attain to full political and constitutional manhood, and escape from the fetters of paternalism, the British and French democracies will not find it difficult to strike up a formula of concord with them and live at peace.

Conclusion.

In concluding these thoughts about the great crisis of our times, my thoughts revert to the incredible losses and miseries which are now falling upon the peoples of the Old World through the present war. It would be futile to deny the deadliness of the blow which has been inflicted upon social progress, upon the physique of the next generation, and upon the work of civilization generally. Still I have faith that the cruel atonement we are now making for the follies and shortcomings of our statesmanship and churchmanship in the past will not be in vain, and that better days are coming for the enslaved and unredeemed peoples of Europe. And I look, too, for comfort and encouragement to the great record of the hundred years' peace between English-speaking peoples—an achievement almost great and far-reaching enough in the blessings it has wrought to outweigh the loss through the present European war. Great Britain and the United States have, through a century of effort, discovered both the will and the way to a peaceful settlement of their disputes. When the last shot has been fired in the present terrible conflict, cannot they join together in a sustained and mighty effort to communi-

cate this divine secret to the divided peoples of Old Europe, exhausted by the follies of the old régime, chastened by their sufferings, and ready for a message of hope and salvation?

The Woman's Peace Party.

By ALICE PELoubet NORTON, Acting Executive Secretary.

The Woman's Peace Party is now an accomplished fact. It has headquarters in Chicago, and is fortunate in sharing the offices of the Chicago Peace Society and the Church Peace Union. Mrs. W. I. Thomas, well known in social work in Chicago, has been appointed executive secretary and Miss S. P. Breckinridge, of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, is treasurer.

Since the peace party was started as an emergency society, and there is still some question whether it shall be made permanent, it has been thought best to maintain a somewhat loose organization. The membership is largely that of so-called local groups. These pay a fee of five dollars into the national treasury, each group determining for itself the dues of its individual members. At present seventy-two local groups have been formed, and nearly every day brings word of several more. Many of these local groups constitute large State branches having hundreds of members. There are about three hundred members who have joined the national society directly, but the membership through the groups counts many thousands.

Work in each State is under the direction of a State chairman appointed by the Executive Council. She in turn appoints a chairman for each congressional district in her State. These chairmen not only care for legislative matters, but develop the work in every possible way. Twenty-five States have already been so organized.

The Peace Party sent out during March between forty and fifty thousand leaflets, beside letters to the presidents of all the federated woman's clubs in the country. A peace program for immediate use, prepared by Miss Zona Gale and Miss Abeel, was included in these letters. Within a few days letters will have been sent to the fraternal organizations, temperance, missionary, and other societies, asking them for co-operation and urging a peace program at an early meeting. Mrs. Thomas and other speakers have been much in demand.

One of the objects of the Woman's Peace Party is the "development of a great peace literature and art to correspond with the mass of production which has grown out of the glorification of war." The arts committee have prepared printed lists of peace songs, poems, dramatic readings, and other peace literature, and are trying to stimulate artists and authors to the expression of peace sentiment. To further this same ideal, arrangements have been made with the Little Theatre Company of Chicago to present Euripides' play, "The Trojan Women," as still, though first acted in 415 B. C., "the most vivid, the most poignant, and the most beautiful illustration of war's utter futility and unmitigated evil, particularly as war affects women and children." A performance was given in Chicago on April 11 as the beginning of a tour of several weeks. Jane Addams made a short address at the opening of the play, and the same afternoon left Chicago on her trip to the International Congress of Women at The Hague.

The calling of this congress and the response by women all over the country has been one of the most interesting events in connection with the Peace Party. Nearly forty women, with two or three men, were in Miss Addams' party that sailed on the *Noordam* from New York for Rotterdam on April 13. A number of others, including Miss Florence Holbrook, had already sailed the previous week with Madame Schwimmer. Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, of the School Peace League, went still earlier for a preliminary conference. With Miss Addams were Mrs. Louis F. Post and Miss S. P. Breckinridge, of the Executive Council of the Woman's Peace Party; Mrs. Glendower Evans, the national organizer; Mrs. W. I. Thomas; Miss Grace Abbott, secretary of the Immigrants' Protective League; Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Hull House; Miss Emily Napieralski, representing the Polish Woman's Alliance; Miss Leonora O'Reilly, sent by the Woman's Trade Union League; Miss Annie E. Molloy, sent by the Boston Telephone Operators' Union; Miss Emily Balch, of Wellesley College; Miss Grace De Graff, of Portland, Oregon, president of the National League of Teachers, and sent in part at least by her board of education; Miss J. Grace Wales, of the University of Wisconsin, and author of the "Wisconsin Plan," presented at the Emergency Peace Federation on February 27, and many other notable women from New York, Washington, Chicago, and other parts of the country. Mr. Lochner, secretary of the Chicago Peace Society, also accompanied the delegation. Just before sailing Miss Addams received a cablegram from Queen Wilhelmina offering to give any assistance in her power.

All that is to be accomplished by this conference no one can foresee. At the very least it justifies itself in being the "first gathering representative of nations both belligerent and neutral to raise its voice against war." In Miss Addams' own words, "Certainly, if women's consciences are stirred in regard to warfare, this is the moment to formulate a statement of their convictions."

Book Reviews.

PERPETUAL PEACE. A Philosophical Essay by Immanuel Kant. Translated by M. Campbell Smith, M. A. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1914. 203 pp.

This translation was first printed in 1903, and the present edition of 1914 is a reprint. Prof. R. Latta, of the University of Glasgow, contributes the preface, in which he states that Miss Campbell Smith first undertook the task of translating Kant's essay at the suggestion of the late Professor Ritchie, of St. Andrews. Professor Ritchie was to have contributed as a preface a discussion of the value of Kant's tractate in relation to present considerations of how to end wars. Miss Campbell Smith has added to her translation a full historical introduction and notes, covering 105 pages of the volume. There is also a good topical index. There has recently been a considerable revival of interest in the works of Immanuel Kant. In 1914 the World Peace Foundation issued a volume containing Mr. W. Hastie's translation of four of Kant's essays, including the one on Eternal Peace, while the American Peace Society publishes in pamphlet form a translation by Benjamin F. Trueblood. Students of Kant will wel-